



PROSPECTS FOR A NEW PARTY

By PAUL JONES

"FOR THE FIRST TIME since the birth of the Republican party, a century ago," said the Devil's Advocate, "I see all the potential elements of a new political alignment."

"Why are you interested?" I asked. "Have you been assigned so soon to sort out saints and sinners in the political field?"

"By no means. But I like to look ahead. The job may come up this year."

"What do you mean by the essential requirements of a situation which can produce a new party?"

"In this country," he said, "new major parties are not formed by the revolt of individual leaders, no matter how talented or popular. Even such *caudillos* as Theodore Roosevelt or Bob LaFollette had to return to camp eventually, after what amounted to little more than a reconnaissance in force. If we take the Republican party's own formation as an example, I conclude that there must be an important issue, dividing both old parties, as the extension of slavery divided the Whigs and the Democrats in 1854. That was a national problem. Today the emphasis is on international affairs, and the extension of a new kind of slavery, Communist imperialism."

"But surely both the Republicans and Democrats today have made it clear that they are unalterably opposed to the advance of world Communism," I remarked.

"Yes, many leaders in both parties have said so," replied the D.A. "Meanwhile, the concessions and appeasements continue, and the limits of the Kremlin's zone of influence keep on expanding. That leads me to my second requirement for a new party, a keen sense of betrayal among important groups in both the old political organizations. A lot of people must be dissatisfied, feeling that what they see is not what they voted for.

"Again we can make a comparison with the political scene a century ago. In 1854, Senator Douglas of Illinois offered his Kansas-Nebraska bill to a Congress elected in November, 1852, after a campaign in which both parties solemnly endorsed the compromises of 1850. Slavery was supposed to be contained within an area where it would slowly expire from its own inefficiency. That was presumed to be a permanent settlement. That was what people cheered and voted for. The Abolitionists were only a small minority.

"Douglas' bill, by a cynical bargain reopened the whole question, repealed the

Missouri Compromise, and permitted the organization of new slave states in the western territories. It was a flagrant doublecross. Yet it passed the Senate and the House on a bipartisan basis. That broke the wagon down.

"There, of course, is my third requirement. You need a fool or a blind man to light a match in the powder magazine of an explosive issue. On second thought, I will withdraw the word 'fool.' Douglas and the Whigs and Democrats who supported his bill were highly intelligent. There was nothing wrong with their brains. They were simply out of touch with popular sentiment."

"And what parallel do you see today for the Kansas-Nebraska Act?" I asked.

"I should say the recognition of Red China, or her admittance to the United Nations, without an immediate withdrawal on our part from that sorry appeasement machine."

"Come, come," I replied. "We cannot resign from a club, just because our black-ball is not enough to exclude from membership a candidate whom we do not like."

"The fact that you can make such a milk custard comparison shows you have been infected with Stevensonian A.D.A. ideas, if you're a Democrat, or with Morse-Republican Advance notions, if you're a Republican. You would certainly resign from any club that persisted in electing muggers and assassins."

"But the Pekin regime," I objected, "is in full control of the Chinese mainland. You can't deny that."

"Surely that's beside the point," said the D.A. "Mao's government is under indictment for aggression by the UN itself. Perhaps you dismiss that as a technical point. You may be right, for the egg heads by kicking the charge from one committee to another, can lose it somewhere along the East River. But what you forget, and they forget, is that to millions of Americans, Red China is the power that slaughtered 7,000 American prisoners in cold-blood and still holds other Americans in captivity, with no sign of ever releasing them. And our war with Red China, which was a UN war, is only in abeyance. We have nothing but an armistice in Korea, and there is abundant evidence that Red China has paid no attention whatever to the terms of that armistice."

"All this may be rationalized somehow over the champagne at Geneva, just as the Nebraska bill no doubt sounded wonderful after three glasses of bourbon toddy in the Willard Hotel parlors. The ordinary voter sees more clearly the connection between Communist aggression and the two year peacetime draft, not to mention swollen budgets and savage taxation."

"But the very fact," I said, "that we are in a perilous phase of the cold war calls

for national unity more than ever and for our continued presence in the United Nations. So they tell me, at least."

"I have heard that too," said the Devil's Advocate. "But mere words cannot create unity. Back in 1850, John C. Calhoun, just before his death, addressed the Senate. 'I propose,' he said, 'to show by what the Union cannot be saved'.

" 'It cannot, then, be saved by eulogies on the Union, however splendid or numerous. The cry of "Union, Union, the glorious Union!" can no more prevent disunion than the cry of "Health, health, glorious health!" can save a patient lying dangerously ill. So long as the Union, instead of being regarded as a protector, is regarded in the opposite character by not much less than a majority of the States, it will be in vain to attempt to conciliate them by pronouncing eulogies on it'.

"For 'union' in Calhoun's speech," the D.A. went on, "you may substitute either the United Nations or our expensive system of alliances. In either case, the point remains valid. Appeals to unity are a waste of breath, as long as the conditions of unity are disregarded.

"Recently both the Republican and Democratic majority and minority leaders in the Senate served plain notice that any further appeasement would split both parties, and that they were prepared to go with the dissenters."

"That should be enough to stiffen Washington backbones," I said.

"I am not so sure. In the curious atmosphere of Eastern internationalist circles, the opinions of gentlemen from Texas or California, whenever they sound an American note, seem to be regarded as faintly ridiculous."

"The attitude of dominant groups in both parties makes some calamitous blunder entirely possible. No one has yet explained how Douglas and his friends could have committed the disastrous error of forcing the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. He introduced his bill on January 3. By the end of February, it was clear that it would pass the Senate. That was when the citizens of Ripon, Wisconsin, held the town meeting which is generally identified as the first sign of the Republican party. They dissolved their Whig and Democratic committees to concentrate on a plain policy — 'No more slave states'.

"There were other mass meetings in other places all that spring, which expressed the same deep feeling. Yet the measure was bulled through the House in late May, by a vote of 113 to 100, with 21 absent or not voting. Enough Whigs went along with the Democrats to make passage certain. The morning after the vote, 30 members of the House, about 20 Whigs and 10 Democrats, caucused with a view to forming a new party.

"By July 6, the dissenters had a name, Republican, and were holding their first state convention, at Jackson, Michigan. The November elections produced a Congress that was not yet Republican in name, but was anti-Nebraska, anti-Administration and anti-extension of slavery by an overwhelming margin. I mention these dates, because it is important to remember how quickly the voters in this country can react to a plain, straightforward issue."

"But," I said, "they tell me things are different now. We have made great advances in the organization of public opinion. The press, radio and television reach many more people than the newspapers and pamphlets of 1854. It will be possible to prepare the popular mind."

"Really," said the D.A., "you seem to have caught a bad case of gullibility. You should take something for it. Surely you realize that there are limits to what Americans will swallow in the propaganda line, as long as they have access to facts which challenge it. A Goebbels or an Ehrenburg can manipulate public opinion freely, because they are able to shut off adverse criticism. We have not reached that point in this country."

"A propaganda machine which persistently tries to put over a line which is patently false does not demonstrate its power. It weakens, and ultimately, destroys it. No large number of study groups or itinerant V.I.P.'s can conceal the failure of the UN, as revealed in the news. If that august body, the UN Assembly, insists on electing Red China, it will complete its ruin with the American public. And so will any political groups in this country who attempt to defend the action."

"I may add that our gallant Allies are also in for a rude shock, under any such circumstances. The ordinary man expects alliances to work both ways. No doubt it is very naive and even stupid of him, but he can't understand a partnership where the other partners confine their work to spending their drawing accounts. And, if they do go on the road with a sample case, he expects them to sell American-Allied policy and not the International-Let's Not Be Beastly To The Red Line."

"And do you seriously expect the formation of a new major political party?"

"I can't tell as yet," said the Devil's Advocate. "I observe only that all the elements are there, if the Boston-New York-Washington axis is foolish enough to throw them together in the critical mass which will produce a political A-bomb explosion."

Mr. Paul Jones has been doing editorials for the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* for the last dozen years. He has also contributed articles to *Colliers* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. HUMAN EVENTS has published two of Mr. Jones' pieces: "Dialogue With a D.A.," July 15, 1953, and "The Martyrs of Academe," January 20, 1954.

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Knowland: Holiday weekend confusion in the press served to mute one of the more sensational developments in connection with the Navy plane incident of Siberia — Senator Knowland's published wire to President Eisenhower demanding that the U.S. sever diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. Ike's headquarters in Denver revealed the President's irritated rejection of the California Senator's request. In the Capital, it was thought that the quick course of diplomatic moves, plus the holiday difficulties, probably gave Knowland's demand less importance in press treatment than it deserved.

The Californian is the majority leader of the Senate and his vigorous statement resembles his equally strong warning — two months ago — that he would resign his leadership and stump the country, if the UN dared move to admit Red China. That pledge drew to his office one of the biggest flood of letters seen on Capitol Hill for a long time. The mail was overwhelmingly approving. This response — reporters here believe — inspired ideas in Knowland's mind that he might be Ike's successor in 1956. The Senator is a man who looks far ahead.

One thing he probably sees is that it is by no means certain that his party will win the necessary seats in the Senate to organize that body. Even if the Republicans do retain the Senate, the majority will undoubtedly be slim and Knowland's experience and ability will be necessary to run the show. On the other hand, if the Democrats take the Senate, the Californian looms as the strong man to oppose the majority. Either way he will be in a strong position to prepare for 1956.

The Senate situation is all the more critical, we find, in view of an analysis of the election contests furnished us by a prominent GOP expert. He summarizes it as follows:

(1) Massachusetts — Republican Saltonstall in great danger from Democrat Furcolo who has been privately courting the McCarthy followers; (2) GOP Meek has a good chance to beat Democratic incumbent Douglas, who has recently been slipping; (3) Democratic Gillette ahead of Republican Martin in Iowa; (4) Wyoming — originally looked good, but an intra-GOP feud threatens to allow Democratic O'Mahoney to get in; (5) Ohio — chances even between Republican Bender and Democratic Burke; (6) possibility that the Republican will beat the Democrat in New Mexico; (7) Democrat Murray strong in Montana, but Republicans might yet pull it out; (8) Dworshak likely to beat Democrat Taylor; (9) Barkley expected to win in Kentucky over Republican Cooper; (10) Democrat Frear is given the edge in Delaware; (11) Democrat Humphrey far ahead in Minnesota; (12) GOP Case will lose in New Jersey; (13) anybody's guess as to Colorado. The other Republican candidates seem sure to win. Obviously the outcome as seen at present is very uncertain.

Britain and Russia: That England is trading in strategic items with Russia and her satellites is vigorously charged by Senator William E. Jenner (R., Ind.). In 1950 Senator Kem (R., Mo.) tried to get Congress to pass a law which would compel the President to cut off foreign aid to any Ally who traded in strategic items with the Communist world. Kem's proposal was defeated and what was known as the Battle Act (Rep., Battle, Dem., Ala.) was substituted. The Battle law gave the President discretionary power to stop foreign aid to any Ally shipping strategic items to the Communist world.

Despite the fact that our Allies did ship strategic items neither Truman nor Eisenhower has invoked the Battle legislation. President Eisenhower went so far as to say publicly that, although our Allies

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were carrying some strategic items to Communist countries, he had no intention of depriving them of foreign aid.

But now — apparently — the British have discovered an obliging U.S. official who will permit them to ship strategic items and avoid any possible conflicts with the Battle Act. Until a few months ago the British government had a list of embargoed products numbering 297 items. Then the British put in a call for FOA Administrator Harold Stassen to come to London so that a number of these items could be taken off the list and made available for trade with Russia and her European satellites. In London Stassen obligingly approved the removal of 80 items from the list including tank cars, diesel oil, flat cars and rails. These certainly seem to be materials of no little use to the Russian military machine.

Senator Jenner declared that Stassen's relaxation of the British embargo list represented "a tactical gain for the Communists as damaging to our prestige as our military retreat from the Yalu" during the Korean War.

One of our sources says that the situation is actually worse than revealed in the press. We are told that before the conference was held in London to reduce the list of embargoed items the Soviet government deposited in British banks about \$80 millions in gold. When the conference began the Russians then threatened to withdraw this money unless a number of items highly important to the Russian war machine were taken off the list. Our source adds that one of these items was a highly efficient machine for making gun barrels. Whether or not the British yielded is not certain, but this instance illustrates how strong is Russian pressure on Britain.

European Prosperity: When the Marshall Plan was started it was understood that when European countries had achieved a reasonable economic recovery such aid should come to an end. But the Marshall Plan was absorbed into the Mutual Security Administration which only last year was taken over by the Foreign Operations Administration and economic aid to Europe has been continuously maintained.

The Research Department of the State Chambers of Commerce now comes up with statistical data which raises this question: why did Congress — during the last two years — under the insistent prod of the White House hand Europe more billions to assist her economic recovery?

The data furnished by the State Chambers shows:

(1) As of last year (1953) indexes of gross national product showed that 12 NATO countries plus West Germany progressed from an average of 84% to 102%. For the United States the advance was from 82% to 102%. Thus, on the average, our NATO Allies went ahead as much as we did.

(2) Four of the European countries actually made more progress. The German index rose to 104%; that of Greece to 106%; that of Italy to 105% and that of Turkey to 103%.

Our Allies: In the dispatches of Harry F. Byrd, Jr. (son of Virginia Senator Byrd) from Europe published last week in the *Washington Star*, we particularly noted two points on Italy which discredit the U.S. policy of buying friends abroad:

(1) Although we have given Italy some *four billion dollars*, Byrd (Editor and Publisher of the Winchester Va., *Star*) says that "at the last election in Italy groups campaigning on platforms demanding an end to 'subservience' to United States policies and an end to United States interference in Italian affairs boosted their strength in Parliament from 34 per cent to 49 per cent. And in France, which received billions of American-aid dollars, her Premier this week warned that his country might easily elect a leftist government sympathetic to Russia."

(2) Prosperity is apparently no check upon Communist growth. Spending to raise standards of living of foreign peoples so as to head off the spread of Communism has been the argument of the

big internationalists who seek foreign aid funds from Congress. Editor Byrd points out that while southern Italy is poverty stricken, northern Italy is "reasonably prosperous." The industrial cities of Milan, Turin and Genoa are "booming" (and it was into this area that much of the American aid has gone). Wages in this part of Italy are "reasonably good" and property owners are making money. "But," says Byrd, "it is in these prosperous parts of Italy *that Communism has its greatest strength.*"

Communist strength is not confined to cities or trade unions, he reports. The farmers of northern Italy are doing well too. In Tuscany, largely agricultural, *most of the towns have Communist mayors.* The Communists poll as heavy a vote among the farmers of the tremendously fertile Po Valley as they do among the industrial workers in the cities "where the unions for the most part are Communist dominated."

Who Do You Know: Or should it be whom? Anyhow, you know at least one person who ought to be reading HUMAN EVENTS. Send us his name and address, so that we may contact him. A hundred names would be better. (We promise not to mention your name in writing prospects.)

Along Investigation Row: It is rumored that the Department of the Army has entirely changed its Loyalty Board — the body whose performances McCarthy sought to investigate, thereby touching off the whole Stevens-Adams-Schine-Cohn row last spring. It is recalled that when the Wisconsin Senator was about to subpoena members of that board to find out why "Fifth Amendment" individuals had been so gently treated, the Army Department commenced the historic barrage against the Senator. If this change has really taken place, it is another instance of how McCarthy's work — however thwarted it may seem as reported in the press — does produce some action.

● Capitol Hill probers are said to be looking into cases of American subversives who some years ago fled abroad, but are now slipping back into this country — apparently in the belief that McCarthy's troubles signify a let-up in pursuit and prosecution of such people.

● Gerald L. K. Smith has demanded that the House Un-American Activities Committee call him to testify, reminding its members that he circulated a petition for continued support of the Committee back in 1940-41. One guess here is that the Committee will not call the eloquent Smith.

Military Spending Abroad now constitutes a major source of dollar earnings to France, Japan, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, United Kingdom and Canada. From the outbreak of "Korea" through 1953 over \$6 billions have been spent abroad by our GI's and by the armed forces as such for supplies, construction, services and the like, as well as in the "offshore" purchase of military items for donation to the producing countries or other Allies.

The phenomenon is one more demonstration that there are seemingly endless ways to tap the boundless wealth of the U.S.A. As we look back, MSA-ECA, EPU, Export-Import Bank loans, the British Loan, UNRRA, Interim Aid, Lend-Lease, Bretton Woods and other programs constituted a pretty big pipeline to the U. S. Treasury.

The names and forms of the programs change, but the economic phenomenon is always the same. Our foreign military spending of all types accounted for 15% of all foreign sales of goods and services to the U.S.A. last year and, the Commerce Department reports, "contributed greatly to the increase of over \$2 billions in foreign gold and dollar reserves." France is the chief European beneficiary of offshore procurement, supplemented by Eximbank advances; and in the Far East, Japan. U. S. military spending of \$400,000,000 in 1953 contributed materially to the improvement in France's international accounts.

Japan is even more dependent today on this income — \$775,000,000 last year. Germany's share was about \$240,000,000; Canada and UK each got about \$200,000,000, Italy nearly \$90,000,000, the Ryukus (remember them?) over \$50,000,000 and Korea about \$60,000,000. Much of the spending in France is deliberately designed to give that country budgetary assistance; i.e., it tends to transfer to the U.S. federal budget what otherwise would be a French budgetary deficit. While we can't predict the end of offshore military spending, history teaches that, when it does end, something with another name will replace it.

European Preparedness: Across the Atlantic, governments achieve so much success in siphoning U.S. wealth into their coffers by regular congressional action that it would seem almost superfluous that they should plan to insure continuance of the flow of our money by some plan of world government. However, some well-informed observers say various European governments have already made preparations for such a global regime and point to the following evidence:

The French Constitution — we are informed — states: "On condition of reciprocity, France consents to the limitations of sovereignty necessary to the organization and defense of peace."

Article II of Italy's Constitution provides: "Italy . . . consents on the basis of equality with other states to those limitations of her sovereignty which are necessary for an arrangement which shall insure peace and justice among nations; promotes and favors international organizations directed to such ends."

The Bonn Constitution states in Article 24: "The federation (of Western Germany) may by legislation transfer its sovereign powers to international institutions."

We are also informed that several years ago Holland amended her Constitution so that Dutch sovereignty could be subordinated to a supra-national organization.

Just Common Sense: While progressive education and its elimination of child discipline continues in our school system, while bad movies, television shows and comic books encourage our children to criminal bravado or incline them to think of themselves as misunderstood psychological problems, it remains for the inhabitants of the tiny Isle of Man off the coast of England to revive the oldest and most effective way to curb juvenile delinquency — disciplining of the child.

Dorothy Thompson in her column reports that on the Isle of Man, child delinquents nabbed in the act are given a "strapping on the spot" by law officers. Teachers are permitted to administer corporal punishment in cases of gross indiscipline. Movies are graded and juveniles (with or without their parents) are barred from many. Television is strictly supervised and "free of gore." "Horror comics" are unobtainable *except in American Army Posts*.

As a result of a remedy "as old fashioned as a mustard plaster for a cold" — figures on child delinquency have declined sharply on the Isle of Man.

Book Notes: Mortimer Smith, author of *And Madly Teach*, has written another on education entitled *The Diminished Mind: A Study of Planned Mediocrity in Our Public Schools*. Scheduled for late October publication by Henry Regnery Company, 20 W. Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

It is reported that in December Devin-Adair Company (23 E. 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.) will publish a book entitled *Billions, Blunders and Baloney* by Eugene W. Castle. The author has written two articles this year for HUMAN EVENTS: "Millions and Millions for Foreign Propaganda," January 13; and "Our Propagandists Are the False Voice of Americans," July 7.

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